

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-03 INR-05 NSC-05 NSCE-00

INRE-00 SSO-00 SP-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 EUR-08

EA-06 SAM-01 L-02 EB-03 /057 W

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O P 241616Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1886

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1383

LIMDIS

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, US, SF, ZA, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ZAMBIAN VIEW ON STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS

1. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR, MARK CHONA, TOLD AMBASSADOR JULY 23 THAT OUTLOOK IN RHODESIA GRIM, WHILE ANC NATIONALISTS AND IAN SMITH HAVE AGREED ON SEVERAL BASIC ISSUES, VENUE FOR PREPARATORY CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, STILL IN DISPUTE; RHODESIAN LEADER STILL TRYING TO DIVIDE NATIONALIST LEADERS AND DELAY ACKNOWLEDGED INEVITABILITY OF MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE; SOUTH AFRICA STILL MAINTAINS SMALL FORCE OF TROOPS IN RHODESIA; AND THERE SERIOUS DANGER OF BREAK-OFF IN NEGOTIATIONS AND ESCALATION OF ARMED CONFLICT. CHONA FEELS USG HAS ROLE TO PLAY IN SEPARATE DEMARCHES TO BOTH VORSTER AND SMITH TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AND WARN OF DANGERS.

2. CHONA FELT THAT USG HAD CONSIDERABLE LEVERAGE NOT YET USED ON SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA TO INDUCE BOTH TO GET ON WITH NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND AVOID ARMED CONFLICT. SAID SAG  
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TROOPS IN RHODESIA GIVE SMITH MORAL ENCOURAGEMENT, MAY EVEN

MAKE HIM CONFIDENT THAT EVEN IF NEGOTIATIONS COLLAPSE IN THREE MONTHS (BISHOP MUZOREWA'S THREAT) HE CAN COUNT ON MILITARY SUPPORT OF SAG, POSSIBLY EVEN BACKUP BY USG. EITHER WAY, WHETHER USG BECOMES DIRECTLY INVOLVED ON SIDE OF WHITES AT LATER, DATE OR CONTINUES APPARENT INDIFFERENCE, IT WILL BEAR MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT COMES IN WAKE OF ARMED CONFLICT OVER RHODESIA. CHONA PAINTED GRIM PICTURE OF SOPHISTICATED SOVIET AND CHINESE ARMAMENTS BEING DRAWN INTO FRAY JUST AS THEY ARE NOW FLOWING INTO ANGOLA. WHY, HE ASKED, DO YOU ALLOW SITUATION TO GO IN THIS DIRECTION WHEN YOU HAVE MEANS FOR GETTING DIRECTLY TO SMITH ("DON'T DENY IT") AS WELL AS TO VORSTER TO AVOID IT?

3. AMBASSADOR SAID WE ARE CONCERNED. DREW ATTENTION TO SUBSTANCE AND TONE OF ADMINISTRATION TESTIMONY ON REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT. CHONA SAID REPEAL, WHEN IT CAME, WOULD BE CASE OF TOO LITTLE TOO LATE. URGED USG FULLY APPRECIATE SERIOUSNESS OF IMPASSE OVER NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WARNED ALSO THAT USG COULD EXPERIENCE "ANOTHER MOZAMBIQUE", SITUATION IN WHICH FREE ZIMBABWE WOULD HESITATE OR CARE LESS ABOUT ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BECAUSE USG HAD NOT HELPED STRUGGLE FOR SELF DETERMINATION. CHONA ALSO WARNED THAT USG COULD BE DENIED FUTURE ACCESS TO RICH RHODESIAN CHROME RESERVES.

4. TURNING TO STATE OF RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS, CHONA REPORTED THAT SMITH AND NATIONALISTS HAVE AGREED THAT FINAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD BE HELD IN LONDON AND CHAIRED BY UK. MAIN PROBLEM NOW IS VENUE OF PREPARATORY OR FIRST STAGE OF CONFERENCE. SMITH INSISTING ON RHODESIA BUT THAT IMPRACTICAL AND HE KNOWS IT AS NEITHER SITHOLE OR CHIKEREMA COULD ATTEND BECAUSE OF CERTAINTY OF THEIR DETENTION ONCE BACK IN RHODESIA. ALL FOUR ANC LEADERS MUST TAKE PART. PRETORIA DEEMED UNSUITABLE AS LONG AS SAG MAINTAINS TROOPS IN RHODESIA. (COMMENT: CHONA MADE NO MENTION OF OAU OBJECTIONS TO SA SITE.)

5. CHONA DESCRIBED PRESENT MOOD OF BISHOP MUZOREWA AND ANC NATIONALISTS NOW IN ZAMBIA AS GUESTS OF THIS GOVERNMENT AS "BITTER IN EXTREME." THEY ESPECIALLY DISCOURAGED BECAUSE OF STALEMATE BROUGHT ON BY SMITH'S DIVISIVE AND DELAYING TACTICS. (COMMENT: CHONA AVOIDED EXPLAINING FULLY CAUSES  
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OF STRAINED UNITY WITHIN ANC WHICH ONLY PAPERED OVER AT DAR). MUZOREWA REPORTEDLY DEPRESSED BECAUSE OF LACK OF ANY REAL OR SUSTAINED SUPPORT FROM FOREIGN POWERS. ALL PROGRESS TO DATE TOWARD NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN THROUGH EXCLUSIVE EFFORTS OF NATIONALISTS. BOTH NATIONALISTS AND ZAMBIA NOW SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING WHETHER TO BREAK OFF NEGOTIATIONS DEFINITELY.

6. UNDERSTAND SAG REPRESENTATIVE (PERHAPS BRAND FOURIE)

WAS IN LUSAKA OVER WEEKEND. IN VIEW OF CHONA'S CRITICAL MOOD, WE ASSUME SAG UNWILLING TO REMOVE REMAINING TROOPS OR HESITATING ON WARNING SMITH ON RISKS HE RUNNING.

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O P 241616Z JUL 75

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1383

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8. COMMENT: CHONA HAS PREVIOUSLY RAISED WITH US THE ISSUE OF USG PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM RHODESIA (LUSAKA 290). IT WAS ALSO RAISED WITH THE SECRETARY BY THEN FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA LAST AUGUST IN WASHINGTON. THE SUGGESTION WE PRESSURE SMITH DIRECTLY IS NEW.

A) DOES USG HAVE A POSITION ON CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN RHODESIA AND, IF SO, HAS THIS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO SAG? IF IT HAS, AND SUBJECT TO AMBASSADOR BOWDLER'S VIEWS, MAY WE HAVE APPROPRIATE REFERENCE AND SO INFORM CHONA IN CONFIDENCE?

B) HAS DEPT. AND PRETORIA EVER CONSIDERED PUBLIC STATEMENT BY U.S. SPOKESMAN WHICH WITHOUT NAMING SOUTH AFRICA WOULD PUT U.S. ON RECORD AS BEING AGAINST PRESENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY, PARAMILITARY OR FOREIGN MERCENARIES IN RHODESIA

AND BEING CONCERNED ABOUT TROUBLED OUTLOOK IN RHODESIA?  
DEPT. MAY PREFER PUT THIS IN BROADER CONTEXT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA  
RATHER THAN FOCUS SOLELY ON RHODESIA.  
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IF NEITHER A) OR B) POSSIBLE, DOES DEPT. OR PRETORIA SEE ANY  
OTHER WAY OR DEVICE WE MIGHT EFFECTIVELY USE TO SHOW ZAMBIANS,  
ANC NATIONALISTS AND ALL AFRICANS, INCLUDING SMITH AND VORSTER,  
USG IS NOT INDIFFERENT TO POSSIBILITIES OF BREAK OFF IN NEGOTIATIONS  
ON RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AND ESCALATION OF ARMED  
CONFLICT?

9. AS TO CHONA'S SUGGESTION WE APPROACH SMITH, I FEAR THIS  
COULD BE RESENTED IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT I DEFER TO AMBASSADOR  
BOWDLER'S ASSESSMENT. I PERSONALLY FEEL TIME APPROACHING  
WHEN WE MAY HAVE TO GET SOME STRONGER SIGNAL TO SMITH THAN  
POSSIBILITY OF REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT. PUBLIC STATEMENT  
COULD SERVE AS A START THIS PURPOSE. END COMMENT.  
WILKOWSKI

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